

PRS-ATC-91-003
5 APRIL 1991

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A N N I V E R S A R Y
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JPRS Report

East Asia

Southeast Asia
Vietnam: TAP CHI CONG SAN
No 9, September 1990

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15 April 1991

[This report is a translation of the table of contents and selected articles from the monthly theoretical and political journal of the Vietnam Communist Party published in Hanoi. Notations in the table of contents indicate articles previously published or not translated.]

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Ninth Plenum of the CPV Central Committee

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**Resolution on the Draft Program on Socialist
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The Theoretical Style of Ho Chi Minh

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00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
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Stabilization and Development in the Present Situation

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 9, Sep 90 pp 25-29

[Article by Phan Dinh Dieu, published in FBIS-
EAS-90-231, 30 Nov 90 pp 65-68]

Defining the Party's Leadership Function and the State's Management Function

913E0004A Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN
in Vietnamese No 9, Sep 90 pp 30-33

[Article by Hoang Van Hao, M.A. in Jurisprudence]

[Text] The need to define the party's leadership function and the state's management function originated with the birth of the socialist state. Lenin discovered the confusion between those two functions and sharply criticized the fact that "every specific and minor matter is brought to the Politburo." In a letter written on 23 March 1922 and sent to the 11th Party Congress, he wrote: "The tasks of the party (and of its central committee) and of the Soviet regime must be defined more clearly. Greater responsibility and independence must be given to Soviet cadres and Soviet organizations."¹

To date, as actual experience has shown, clearly defining the functions of the party and state is not easy. Since the Sixth Party Congress, we have striven to distinguish between those two functions. In my view, there is a new understanding concerning these two functions, and the basic features of the party's leadership function and the state's management function have been outlined. Here, I want to clarify a few problems having the nature of principles.

The goals of the party and state are the same, but their functions are different. As we all know, the communist party is the vanguard unit of the working class, and the socialist state is "organized force"² and the tool of the working class. Thus, with **respect to goals**, the party and state in a socialist country share a common goal, which is to build socialism and communism. Separating or placing the party and state in opposition does not have any scientific basis and will definitely lead to mistakes in practice.

But with respect to the **functions** of the party and state, looking at the specific action contents and methods of these subjects with respect to society, we can see that there are differences in principle between the party and the state. But there is no confusion. As for action contents, the party, with the credentials as the vanguard unit of the working class, is the political leader. The state, with the credentials as the power organization of the people, is the one who organizes and controls the economic and social processes. The party does not become involved in this organization and management process but provides general leadership. That is, it guides and sets directions for all the state organizations. Distinguishing the party's function from that of the Soviet

regime, Lenin said: "The party has the **right** to lead the work of all the state organizations **in total**"³

In order to clarify this viewpoint, various aspects in the leadership contents must be discussed further.

Does the communist party have power? In my view, the party does not have power, even political power. Because of this, party organizations are not power organizations.

First of all, we must differentiate the **concepts of power and having power**. These two concepts may seem to be the same, but actually they are different. As the leader of the revolution, the party has a very clear concept of seizing and holding power, because the regime is the "basic problem of the revolution" and the powerful organizational tool of socialist construction. The party does not seize power for itself but leads the people in the struggle to seize power for themselves. Thus, "power belongs to the people," not to a particular group of people.

The communist party has the right to lead society because of the historical mission of the working class. This right cannot be shared with anyone. Even in a pluralistic environment, there cannot be "accompaniment or cooperation." But the communist party does not hold power. Power in a socialist society belongs to the people and is manifested in the state organizations with jurisdiction, that is, the organizations to whom the people have entrusted and transferred power. In a class society, this power is political power. The party should not manifest political power in the sense of manifesting the "organized force of a class in order to oppress another class." Because if political power is manifested like this, the party must be organized differently. That is, it will be like a state organization. Unfortunately, for many decades, this was not understood clearly. And so now, the problem must be clarified and solved. We can differentiate things as follows:

The communist party: the leadership subject. The people: the power subject. The state: the management subject.

Naturally, such a distinction is relative, because there are internal links and common goals.

Some people say that the party leads through its **prestige and trust**. But "trust" and "prestige" cannot be equated with "power."⁴ The prestige of the communist party stems from its quality and intelligence. This quality and intelligence is manifested in putting forth correct and scientific political viewpoints and lines, leading the state, enabling the state to be of the people, and enabling the power of the people to be manifested in reality. There cannot be "people of the state" but a "state of the people." (Karl Marx) Renovation in our country is following that path and ensuring that the popularly elected organizations have real and all-round power. The party is just the leader but does not have power. The resolution of the Sixth Plenum of the CPV Central Committee (Sixth Term) stated: "The organization and

activities of the popularly elected organizations must be fundamentally renovated. The National Assembly and the various echelon people's councils, the power organizations of the people, must be enabled to operate effectively under the leadership of the party."

Another question in the leadership contents of the party that must be clarified is: **What is political leadership?**

"According to Lenin, politics is the sphere of relations between the classes and strata and the state and government. It is the sphere of relations between all the classes."⁵ In my view, the basic characteristic of political leadership is that it formulates lines for the development of society and uses and protects the state regime in order to serve the interests of the working class and laboring people. In society, the relationship between the classes and the state is very complex, and there are many different levels. This is an internal relationship among the various state organizations and a relationship between the state organizations and the people, between the state organizations and the social organizations that represent the interests of the classes, strata, and minority groups, and between this state and other states. What can be done to ensure that these relationships develop properly in the interests of socialism? This requires the leadership and guidance of vanguard thinking, and it is manifested in the political lines of the communist party. The problem is the same for local committee echelons. In renovation conditions, the leadership of the party organizations must satisfy the need to increase the independence of the bases and lower levels.

Political leadership is not general or unfocused leadership, because the social relationships mentioned above are constantly changing and are concretely manifested every day in the economic, political, cultural, and ideological spheres. Political leadership will be correct only if it starts from the reality of these relationships and focuses every activity on the targets of socialism. Politics is not a general slogan. It is closely tied to every aspect of social life. Lenin gave particular attention to the dialectical relationship between politics and economics. Once the proletariat has seized power, politics will "shift the center to politics in the sphere of economics," meaning that politics will focus on the target of building the economy. But that does not mean giving attention only to solving specific problems in the sphere of economics. To solve the economic problems throughout society in line with the new production formula, politics must embrace all relationships and penetrate every sphere of social life. Every economic problem that has become a policy matter has entered the realm of politics. Solving the economic problems to raise the standards and increase the scale of politics is a complex process that requires the creative use of objective laws in order to enable "politics to become the centralized manifestation of economics."⁶ The same is true of politics in other spheres. The function of the communist party is centrally manifested in the process of forming political lines in each revolutionary stage and persuading the masses to self-consciously follow those political lines.

The party's leadership function is different from the state's management function, and because of this, the methods used to implement the party's function are different from those used to implement the state's function. As the political leader, the party can use only democratic and educational methods and persuasion. It can not and must not use coercion or commands.

For many decades, there has been confusion about the functions and methods of the communist party's leadership. Now, real life cannot accept the old style of leadership, which tied party organizations and party members to power, profits, and special rights and privileges. In the end, that style of leadership has reduced the leadership role of the party and resulted in a decline in the communist party's prestige in many countries. Thus, the party's and state's functions must be clearly defined. Based on this, the apparatus of the party and state must be reorganized, and the cadres must be retrained so that they have the capabilities to carry out the functions of the party and state.

Defining the functions of the party and state is a problem with the nature of a principle. But in my view, this is a relative definition. Every definition will lead to a separation between the party and state, and it will be impossible to avoid denying the leadership role of the communist party in actuality.

Some people have placed the state above the party. This tends to separate the party and state or place them in opposition to each other. This viewpoint has not been confirmed by historical experience and does not correctly reflect the nature of the relationship between the communist party and the socialist state. Actually, this shows a lack of understanding and does not distinguish between the party's leadership function and the state's management function.

Even during the time of Lenin, members of the "song luan" faction posed the question of whether there should be a "Party or Soviets." Lenin responded: "In my view, that is not the right way to solve the problem: You need to have Soviet worker Representatives and also need to have the Party. The question—and this is a very important question—is how to define and coordinate the tasks of the Soviets and the tasks of the Russian Social Democracy Workers' Party."⁷

Naturally, what is even more important is the leadership role of the party with respect to the state and society. This must be recognized in reality. The party's prestige stems from real life, from the hearts of the people, and from bringing "food and clothes" to the laborers. That is the experience of the party over a long period of time.

Footnotes

1. V.I. Lenin, "Collected Works," Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1978, volume 45, page 75.

2. Marx and Engels, "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi 1980, volume 1, page 569.

3. V.I. Lenin, "Collected Works," Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1978, volume 45, page 75. The words in boldface are mine—HVH.

4. According to Engels, power or authority means concrete control. HVH annotation.

5. V.I. Lenin, "Collected Works," Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1978, volume 6, page 101.

6. V.I. Lenin, "Collected Works," Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1978, volume 42, page 349.

7. V.I. Lenin, "Collected Works," Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1978, volume 12, pages 73-74. The words in boldface are mine—HVH.

The Role of the System of Power Organs in State Economic Management

913E0004B Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN
in Vietnamese No 9, Sep 90 pp 34-37

[Article by Hoang The Lien, M.A. in Jurisprudence]

[Text] As the representative of all the people in implementing ownership rights, as the representative of the interests of all of society, and as the main instrument of people's power, the state has great responsibilities and great power in managing the national economy. It must ensure balanced and rapid growth and stimulate, regulate, and control all economic activities. "The key problem today is to urgently **renovate the state's management mechanism with respect to the economy.**"¹ Eliminating state subsidies and freeing all economic activities from the bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies type of control of the state is the main guideline in renovating the state's management of the economy. The all-encompassing tasks of state economic management posed by that goal are, using laws and economic policies, "an environment and passage must be created so that the economic units can expand commercial production in a dynamic and orderly manner, all economic activities must be placed in the orbit of macrocosmic planning, it must be ensured that the economy grows in a balanced way, and relationships concerning interests must be handled correctly."²

In the present stage, those great tasks of state economic management can be carried out only through the planned, self-conscious, and stable organizational activities of the **entire system of state organizations.** The state must carry out its economic management function with the credentials of a perfect system. Although a state organization may have a direct effect on a specific economic and social process, behind it, there is a complex system of reciprocal relationships between it and the other elements of the system of state organizations. As an element of a perfect system, each type of state organization has certain rights and responsibilities and a direct or indirect effect in economic management. The state economic management function cannot be entrusted to just one type of organization.

There have been times in jurisprudence and management when the problem of state economic management has been understood in a narrow sense, that is, that these are the activities of just one group of state organizations, the state administrative organizations. This blank check given to these state organizations has narrowed the meaning and scope of state economic management. In reality, economic activities and relationships are regulated mainly by the party's resolutions, legal documents, and administrative directives and orders. People have not emphasized using the laws and formulating economic management laws. The economic management organizations at the central echelon (subordinate to the government) usually busy themselves with specific and isolated tasks and do not concentrate on formulating long-term strategic policies. On one hand, these organizations become involved too deeply in the commercial production activities of the primary level economic units. On the other hand, there is great laxity in carrying out the state economic management function at the macrocosmic level. Because of this, the environment for the survival and growth of the economy has become rigid, democracy, creativity, and beneficial motives have been limited, and there is the danger that the boundaries will be overstepped and that there will be a lack of organization and discipline.

Recognizing these shortcomings, with a desire to carry out the state economic management function correctly and guarantee the right of the production installations to manage commercial production themselves, we advocated making a "clear distinction between economic management functions and commercial production functions." However, for a long time now, there has been confusion in handling this relationship.

With respect to the problem of state economic management, we often ignore the role of the power organizations at the central and local echelons. The constitution stipulates that the power to approve state plans, pass state budgets, and in particular, impose taxes and pass major economic policies belongs to the National Assembly. Thus, in official documents, the National Assembly plays a very important role in state economic management. But in reality, the real nature of the above stipulation has not been fully appreciated. As a result, the power organizations have been separated from this function. Information on economic activities and economic management is still the separate sphere of the management organizations. The power organizations remain passive and follow the administrative organizations. In the sphere of national economic management, the people's power has been reduced.

Thus, the time has come to affirm that economic management is the function of every state organization. The National Assembly and the various echelon people's councils are not only organizations with general political power but also organizations with economic management functions. Naturally, the economic management functions of the National Assembly and the people's councils must be in accord with their nature as power

organizations, and they must not duplicate the economic management functions of the government. The special characteristic of the economic management functions of the power organizations is that they must strengthen the promulgation of economic laws and control and monitor the implementation of the economic laws that have been promulgated.

For a long time now, as a result of failing to clearly affirm the role and responsibility of the power organizations in managing the economy and because of the many limitations of the power organizations in this sphere, the administrative organizations have often exceeded their functions and infringed on the power organizations. The power organizations (the highest of which is the National Assembly) are often informed about things only after they have already been done, they are not provided enough information, and they don't maintain close control over or closely supervise the activities of the administrative organizations. Thus, when the power organizations approve policies or laws, in many cases this is just a formality.

The question is, What should be done to ensure that the power organizations, from the central echelon to the localities, have real power and bear real responsibility, the highest responsibility, for economic and social development? If these organizations have power, they must also bear responsibility for their decisions. The major problems related to economic plans, economic policies, taxes, and so on and the major economic control measures at the macrocosmic level are the responsibility of the National Assembly. As for the things given to the government to concretize, there must be compelling conditions, stipulations concerning schedules, report and control stipulations, and so on.

One of the important elements of state economic management is issuing decisions on economic management. For the National Assembly, that refers to the power to formulate and revise economic laws. For the various echelon people's councils, that refers to the power to issue economic resolutions in the spheres stipulated by law. There are great advantages in managing the economy by law, as theory and practice have shown. In conditions in which the commodity economy is expanding, economic democratization is being expanded, and the economic units are gaining greater independence, the lack of laws or the lack of synchronized and unified laws will lead to anarchy in economic activities and cause serious damage to the state. During the past period, in the sphere of economic management, the National Assembly has not fully exercised its right to formulate laws. Many of the important problems concerning the national economy have not been solved by law but by documents under the law. For example, according to statistics, of the 348 legal documents currently in force in the sphere of labor, war invalids, and social welfare, 117 of the documents were promulgated by the Council of Ministers. The other 231 documents

were promulgated by the Ministry of Labor, War Invalids, and Social Welfare and joint ministries. Not one of these documents was promulgated by the highest power organization.

Recently, the formulation of laws was promoted, but the above situation has not been overcome. Because of this, it is difficult to form new economic mechanisms and manifest a synchronized effect on all fronts. This has enabled the bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies mechanism to survive.

In the present situation, how should laws in economic management be promulgated? Some people have said that the most suitable way is to promulgate documents under the law, because that will make it possible to quickly satisfy the needs of life. If it should become necessary to make adjustments or revisions, that can be done quickly. This point has some validity. But from the standpoint of science and general policy, the most suitable thing today is to actively promulgate laws, particularly economic laws.

From the theoretical standpoint, actively promulgating laws at this time will not only increase the legal value of the documents but also elevate the role of the elected power organizations and, through this, increase the power and will power of the people in managing the economy. The power to formulate laws should not be "ceded" to the administrative organizations just because the economy is still unstable, social relationships are still changing, and we are still in a "transitional" period. That is contrary to the function and role of each type of organization in the system of state organizations, and it is contrary to the tendency toward democracy and unity in economic management. Naturally, making laws is difficult, and it takes time. But this is not beyond our capabilities. The problem is to have specific plans and policies and good organizations and to know how to use the "brains" of the legal and economic specialists, including those with practical experience in management. We must avoid establishing subcommittees composed of too many famous people who are just "formal" representatives. Naturally, the deputies in the National Assembly must have greater capabilities and greater responsibilities, and the activities of the National Assembly must be different. It must carry on activities on a more regular basis and have more information and better means.

From the practical standpoint, actively promulgating laws at this time is required by the real situation. As the situation becomes more complex, the National Assembly must strengthen legislative activities and promulgate laws in order to point out principles, adjust the most important economic relationships, and ensure that the varied and complex economic activities follow the "course" that has been set. On one hand, democracy must be manifested in the economy. On the other hand, steps must be taken to avoid disorder, anarchy, and dishonesty, which can greatly harm the state and all of society.

Given the conditions of a multi-faceted economy and the fact that our policy is to encourage private individuals both here and abroad to invest in and expand commercial production, it is essential that the state promulgate laws related to the above policy so that people will feel at ease investing here and have confidence in the state's policy mentioned above.

In summary, the National Assembly and the local power organizations must play the important role of a unified economic management subject. Above all, they must seize legislative power in order to satisfy the requirements of state economic management and put a stop to the situation in which executive organizations carry out legislative functions on this front. This is an important guideline for increasing the power of the people in economic management.

Footnotes

1. Resolution of the Sixth Plenum of the CPV Central Committee (Sixth Term).

2. Ibid.

Theoretical Problems and Literary Creativity in Recent Years

913E0004C Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN
in Vietnamese No 9, Sep 90 pp 38-43

[Article by Phan Cu De, professor of literature]

[Text] Although renovation is just the first step, this has clearly enlivened literary life, particularly on two lively fronts, critical discourse and prose. Prose is striving to overcome the limitations of a socialist realism literature formed in the flames of war. Stories and novels are going more deeply into "earthly" life and the daily lives of people with many complex social problems. The relationship between individual and collective fate and between citizens, social people, and natural people is being handled better.

Writers have created a relationship of "equality," democracy, openness, and trust between writers and readers. Many novels have tended to look back and reevaluate the path of each person in an historical stage filled with changes. Many works on "internal directions" are aimed at awakening readers, making them think about collective life, which is in danger of declining morally, and getting them to take an internal spiritual voyage in order to perfect the socialist morals and behavior of people. The renovation process in prose has been manifested very clearly in the recent works of Nguyen Minh Chau, Ma Van Khang, Le Luu, Mai Ngu, Do Chu, Khuat Quang Thuy, Nguyen Tri Huan, Tran Thanh Giao, Trung Trung Dinh, Nguyen Manh Tuan, Nhat Tuan, Huu Mai, Nam Ha, Bui Hien, Nguyen Kien, Chu Van, Nguyen Thi Ngoc Tu, and others.

Renovating literature has not been easy or unidirectional. Besides the conservative tendency, which is an

obstacle that must be overcome, extremism and opportunism and the increased noise from the outside with evil intentions can, if not criticized, derail the movement.

There is still a tendency to deny the old achievements, with this being repeated in a number of journals.

Prior to the Fourth Writers' Congress, we struggled against the tendency to negate literature since the August Revolution. "Literature must be moral, superficial works must be read for pleasure, propaganda literature has become synonymous with politics, half of literature is bread...with authoritative, lofty, and obsequious criticism." After the Writers' Congress, such negative things appeared again in SONG HUONG and CUA VIET.

"Literature and the arts have become propaganda tools and an aid to teaching obscene morals." (SONG HUONG, No 3, 1990, page 81)

"The people are tired of bogus moral treatises. The time has come for literature to take correct steps on its difficult journey." (Nguyen Huy Thiep, "Who Can Fill the Emptiness in the Thinking of Writers?" SONG HUONG, No 3, page 61.)

There are also people who say that prior to 1945, our literature focused too much on the "negative" and that between 1945 and 1975 it focused too much on the "positive." Only since 1975 has there been a blend of the "negative" and "positive." "The positive pole is materialism, and the negative pole is idealism. If we avoid all dialogue with idealism, our materialism could easily become superficial and 'silly.' With such a philosophical base, it will be difficult for literature to have rich and profound contents and ideas." ("The Recent Literary Period and Development Tendencies," VAN NGHE, Special Issue, April 1990)

What is the truth? Our revolutionary literature was launched into the correct orbit right from 1943 with the party's Cultural Thesis. At that time, literature, under the yoke of the Japanese fascists and French colonialists, was becoming more and more decadent, and it had reached a dead-end with the Vu Hoang Chuong and Dinh Hung groups, the "Xuan Thu Nha Tap" ("Spring-Autumn Poems"), and idealistic and metaphysical tendencies "Thanh Duc" ("Morality") by Khai Hung and "Cach Ba Ngan Nam" ("Three Thousand Years Ago") by Cung Khanh. The August Revolution saved the nation and a generation of writers and revived literature. Under the leadership of the party, through 30 years of war, we created an arts and literature "worthy of standing in the vanguard ranks of today's anti-imperialist arts and literature." The strength of our new literature did not stem from making superficial political illustrations but from having very close ties to the lives of the laborers and the heroic fight of the people. These were not bogus moral lessons. This was a loyal and zealous movement by writers who loved their country and socialism. This was not "silly" materialism but a Marxist world view and a creative way to implement

socialism. Our dialectical materialism and historical materialism did not involve "turning our backs on idealism or avoiding a dialogue with idealistic theories." Our materialism constantly confronted idealistic theories and became sharper and sharper through the struggles with idealistic theories and arts and the decadent and reactionary tendencies of bourgeois and neocolonialist culture.

Since 1975, the new literature has searched for ways to advance in terms of quality in today's exciting historical situation and in an atmosphere of renovating both philosophical and artistic thinking. But renovating literature does not mean changing courses completely or looking for a way to blend the negative and positive poles, "nourishing the negative" and "grafting the positive," in order to create a balance between idealism and materialism and between a political way of viewing things that emphasizes a class and national viewpoint and a "cultural" way of viewing things that is concerned about "having unity among the various classes" and finally reaching a human foundation and universal human values. In reality, there is no single culture or one single "cultural" view if we remember Lenin's argument about two cultures in one national culture and if we see the reactionary nature of the colonial and neocolonial cultures. Renovating thinking, modes of reflection, and creativity does not mean "saying good-by" to Marxism-Leninism and socialism.

Let's return to the problem of party leadership and the creative freedom of writers and artists.

Prior to the Fourth Writers' Congress, some critics said that "quite a few arts and letters leaders view arts and letters as amusing entertainment." "Leaders despise artists and writers" and view artists and writers as "children." People have called our literature "mandarin literature" during the time of Le Thanh Tong and "palace literature." (SONG HUONG No 31, 1988) They have put forth a strange theory concerning political and artistic "hegemony" and internal conflicts between these two types of "hegemony." (SONG HUONG, 5 March 1988) Recently, in SONG HUONG, people again repeated the above arguments. Arts and letters have been viewed as "amusing entertainment," and artists and writers have been viewed as "purveyors of amusement for a society that is called 'democratic.'" (SONG HUONG, No 3, page 81) In an article entitled "A Neglected Corner in the Internal World of Writers," Nguyen Huy Thiep stated that "writers are entrapped in taboos and regulations like a chicken caught in hair. In general, the fate of writers is like that of a clown. Once the chicken has become entangled in the hair, every movement by the chicken makes one laugh." (DAT QUANG, No 62, March-April 1990)

Nguyen Huy Thiep also formulated a law concerning arts and letters leadership in the Eastern countries: "Unlike in the West, Eastern political traditions have never shown proper respect for writers and thinkers. This tradition has been maintained up to the present."

(SONG HUONG, No 3, page 60) Nguyen Huy Thiep is perhaps right if he is talking about the treatment of artists and writers by a number of feudal emperors in China and Vietnam. We have the letters of Lac Tan Vuong and Ly Thai Bach, who were banished to Gia Lang, and of Van Thien Tuong, who was imprisoned at Yen Kinh. That does not include the writings in prison "Dang co nha Han", "Thanh luu doi Duong," "Nguy hoc doi Tong," and "Dong lam Phuc xa doi Minh." [Chinese language literature] In Vietnam, we cannot forget the **declaration** by Doan Trung and the "death" of Cao Ba Quat and Hoang Phan Thai. But the question is not whether the "political traditions" are Eastern or Western but to which regime and class the cultural policies belong. In the West, progressive writers are still struggling against the dictatorial policies of the feudalists and the dictatorial policies of the monopolistic capitalists. We have not forgotten the works "History of a Crime" (1851) or "The Punishment" (1853) in which Victor Hugo condemned the dictator Louis Bonaparte, who strangled the republic and established the Second Empire in 1851. And we can't forget "Le Mie Prigioni" by the Italian Silvio Pellico or the 1953 play "Julius and Ethel" by Balan Krukopsky, which condemned the American fascist authorities for sentencing Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, two brave and loyal American intellectuals, to die in the electric chair. The dictatorial policies of the feudal and bourgeois regimes toward progressive artists and writers cannot be viewed as a "tradition that has been preserved to the present" in Vietnam. And it is nonsense to say, as Duong Thu Huong has, that the "totalitarian feudal system, which has left its mark on socialism" in Vietnam will spawn "servile" artists and writers and "stupid sheep" who have lost their intellectual honesty.

The Vietnam Communist Party has evaluated the role of arts and letters very highly and views arts and letters as a cultural and ideological front. It views artists and writers as soldiers on this front and as the "soul engineers" of the age. Those who talk about "palace works," who consider artists and writers to be purveyors of entertainment and dumb servants, and who talk about the conflict between artists and writers and the authorities are making a basic mistake when they say that reality and the laws in a class society are antagonistic to a socialist society. They do not understand the relationship between the communist party and the revolutionary artists and writers. They do not understand the wonderful qualities of the soldiers on the cultural front. Nguyen Huy Thiep made such a mistake when he said that "in the final analysis, most writers are defeatists." They have a "pessimistic spirit" and a "vague sadness." That may be true of writers in "painful" situations in previous centuries such as Khuat Nguyen, Nguyen Du, Ho Xuan Huong, and Cao Ba Quat. And it may be true of artists and writers in the West. For example, Bourdelle saw himself and Leonardo De Vinci, Rembrandt, Michelangelo, and Delacroix meeting each other in "cries of disaster life after life." ("Lighthouses") But tears, pain, and sadness were not the rule for revolutionary writers

either before or after 1945. These were people with a Marxist world view who had confidence in communist ideals. Although collective and individual tragedies continue to occur in this world, optimism is still viewed as one of the qualities of the new writer. Somehow, Nguyen Huy Thiep concluded that "the joy of writers" usually bears a "sad appearance," because writers have been corrupted by the "contemporary political and social mechanism." "It is not often that writers suddenly become political figures." (SONG HUONG, No 3, page 59)

A number of the works of Nguyen Huy Thiep and Duong Thu Huong are very pessimistic. They deny the achievements of the revolution and reject the sacred images of the past. In the past, Nguyen Huy Thiep used the language of a character or storyteller to "destroy" the image of Quang Trung. He threw out vague ideas but exhibited an attitude insulting to the national culture. ("Pham Tiet", "Vang Lua") ("Blood Goods," "Fool's Gold") Recently, in an essay on the nation, Nguyen Huy Thiep stated that "We must consciously recognize that our nation's situation is very dismal. The heavy chains of outmoded ideas are causing great pain to millions of people. They are confused in their government offices and family dens, behind their bamboo hedges, and in the heavily populated collective zones." (SONG HUONG, No 3, page 61) In CUA VIET (No 2, 1990), Duong Thu Huong wrote: "Life is filled with mistakes, complexities, and problems. These things are not only controlling the national collective but also leaving a mark on individuals."

We are not sure if the national collective is in a state of confusion in "outmoded ideas" and is miserable with the mistakes and complexities or whether that is the situation of those writers who have lost their direction in the face of the negative phenomena in today's society and in the face of the complex changes taking place in the world and who lack awareness as a result of all the noise and flattery coming from outside enemies. Writers can attack the dark shadows and negative phenomena only if their souls are filled with light and confidence. The renovation movement will move forward steadily in the right direction if we make creative use of Marxism-Leninism in carrying on socialist construction in Vietnam and inherit the nation's wonderful traditions.

"Setting broad guidelines" and the tasks of the critics and managers:

In CUA VIET (No 2, 1990), Tran Do mentioned a number of problems, including the problem of "setting broad guidelines." He thought that he was correct, but because he was in the minority, he had to accept criticism. In his view, "management based on setting broad guidelines" means "adhering to the ideas and lines" and giving particular attention to "theory and persuasion." If arts and letters are "lively" and "animated" (in animation, there is confusion), "the producers, that is, the theaters and publishing houses, can be allowed to be

responsible to the public." If these works "have problems and are banned," that is a "violation of the regulations on creative freedom." ("On the Relationship Between Management and Creative Freedom in Arts and Letters," NHAN DAN, 19 March 1988)

I understand his desire to ensure a broad scope for creative freedom. But he posed the issue in a loose and one-sided manner. Management cannot just "adhere to ideas and lines" or simply persuade through theory. There must be stipulations, measures, "barriers," and sometimes "prohibitions" in order to ensure creative freedom for the great majority of artists and writers. The prevalence of degenerate books and magazines in Saigon prior to 1975 recently became a problem again in Ho Chi Minh City. This shows that the publishing houses cannot be allowed to "be responsible to the public" but must be managed and guided closely. Those who tend the garden of creativity must pull the weeds and kill the insects in order to ensure that "the other flowers grow and bloom." (Xuan Dieu)

The freedom to create goes hand in hand with the freedom to criticize. He advocated "setting broad guidelines" and making an effort to stimulate creative freedom. But that will not ensure freedom to criticize or maintain the freedom of the managers. He said that "we have sometimes fallen into a situation in which there are two parties: the **party that acts** and the **party that reviews**." Most of those in the "party that reviews" are "people who do not act and who lack understanding and so how can they judge, review, or criticize things?" ("Some Confidential Matters," VAN NGHE, No 43, 24 October 1987) As for professional critics, he wrote: "As for freedom to criticize, there are many complex problems that must be solved. The concept that 'works have problems,' meaning that they must be controlled and examined, must be done away with." (CUA VIET, No 2, 1990) Why shouldn't managers and critics have the right to "examine" "works with problems" that have been condemned by the masses and press, such as "Pham Tiet" ("Chastity"), "Quy O Voi Nguoi" ("Devils Living With Human Beings") by Nguyen Huy Thiep; "Thien Duong Mu" ("Blind Paradise") by Duong Thu Huong; "Nhin Tu Xa...To Quoc" ("Looking at the Fatherland From Far Away") by Nguyen Duy; "Ly Than" ("Separation") by Tran Manh Hao; "Nhung Manh Doi Den Trang" ("The Black and White Episode in Life") by Nguyen Quang Lap; and so on? Of course, the managers and critics must respect the artists' and writers' creative freedom and the masses' right to enjoy things. Democratic freedom must be manifested, but there must be guidelines and leadership. People cannot be allowed to do whatever they want in line with the idea of allowing the people to "choose what they want to eat." That would be tantamount to loosening the responsibilities of the critics and managers. Creators have creative freedom, but at the same time, freedom must also be given to critics and managers. Relaxing management and guidance has already caused confusion in the publishing market, and black videos are spreading. The public has

condemned this. If we relax management and allow people to do whatever they want without providing any guidelines and without criticizing the erroneous views, we will be guilty of what the press in fraternal countries calls "demagogic tendencies" in arts and letters management and criticism and will have applied Darwin's theory of natural selection in arts and letters leadership. The activities of people in a socialist system with a

leading party are self-conscious activities with concepts. They are not spontaneous activities lacking direction. Encouraging pure and wholesome works and renovations and correcting erroneous views and tendencies does not mean limiting or blocking renovation but opening the path for creative freedom and for renovation in literature so that literature moves in the right direction and grows stronger and stronger.

Labor Cooperation With Other Countries— Problems and Prospects

*Anonymous Editor: TAP CHU CONG SAN, in Vietnam
No. 9, Sept. 89 pp. 44-48*

[Article by] Bui Ngoc Thanh, published in FBIS,
EAS-90-224, 20 Nov. 89, pp. 14-17.]

The Social Market—Problems and Solutions

*Editor: TAP CHU CONG SAN,
in Vietnam, No. 9, Sept. 89 pp. 49-51, 65*

[Article by] Cao Duy Ha, Nguyen Ai Quoc Institute]

[Text] Markets form the conditions for implementing the social product. They are the strength of commodity production and the environment for expanding production in the direction of exchange and trade. Markets are a sensitive "sign" of economic and social phenomena. They are an essential factor of commodity reproduction. To correctly evaluate the market situation, we must look at the changes in the above aspects.

Since the Sixth National Party Congress, in particular since the resolution of the Sixth Plenum of the CPV [Communist Party of Vietnam] Central Committee, the party and state have implemented various renovation policies on economic management in the circulation and market spheres, such as the policy of a single unified social market based on a one-price mechanism, the policy of having equality among the economic elements that participate in the markets based on state law, the policy of accepting competition, the policy of eliminating market obstacles in order to free circulation and insure that commodities are moved throughout the country, and so on. These policies have led to a number of encouraging changes on social markets. The commodity fund for consumption is growing steadily, product quality has gradually improved, and styles, designs, and models are becoming more and more varied. Prices are reasonable, and the varied needs of the consumers are being satisfied. In particular, goods that were once in short supply are now available. In the past, there was usually a serious imbalance between supply and demand at the markets (concerning food, household goods, and a number of building materials). But now, thanks to having a correct economic policy, stimulating production and managing things rationally in circulation, not only is there enough to satisfy consumer needs throughout society, but there is also a surplus to export large quantities. The prices of many goods at the markets are no longer skyrocketing every month, which was the case before. During the past two years, market prices have increased an average of only 2.0-2.5 percent a month. Inflation has been limited, and bank credits have begun to manifest an effect with respect to production and daily life. The markets are more lively, and business is gaining momentum. This has stimulated production and contributed to gradually stabilizing the people's standard of living.

However, the changes of the social market with respect to a number of the aspects mentioned above are just the initial result of the process of moving from a market that was divided into many parts and that was controlled using administrative measures to a unified market nationwide that is controlled by economic measures. There are still many problems that must be solved.

1. Problems of the Social Market Today

First, the strategic types of goods that support the needs of production and social life such as rice, sugar, cement, and nitrate fertilizer are still not free of "attacks of price fever." The price of rice and cement on the markets has at times increased more than 50 percent. Since the beginning of April 1990, the price of pork on the social market has increased 20 percent. One problem that should be given attention is that after each "attack of price fever," it is very difficult to lower prices. Today, the price of rice, cement, and nitrate fertilizer is still 40-50 percent higher than it was at the beginning of the first quarter of 1990.

Second, the rural markets, which are a major part of the social market, have great consumption strength with respect to production materials and consumer goods, but they have not been seized on by socialist commercial forces in order to provide support and guide and regulate the other forces in the socialist orbit. Here, private-commercial forces and so-called joint commercial forces are carrying on rather lively activities. When they purchase the goods of farmers and manual workers, they squeeze prices. When they sell goods to the farmers and manual workers, they raise prices or substitute types. While peasants have to sell their paddy and a number of other types of agricultural products to private merchants at very low prices, they have to buy nitrate fertilizer and a number of other types of materials from the private merchants at a price 1-1/2 times or double the state price. Thus, part of the legitimate income of the farmers and manual workers in the rural areas is presently being "stolen" by private merchants or groups that call themselves joint corporations or joint enterprises, who use the stratagem of buying low and selling high.

Third, goods smuggled in from abroad are flooding the markets and pushing aside domestic goods. This is strangling a number of domestic handicrafts production sectors that were just beginning to prosper and expand but which are not strong enough to compete with foreign goods. Because no taxes have been paid on smuggled goods, they are cheaper than domestic goods. As a result, domestic goods cannot compete with them. As a result of such smuggling activities, the activities of many state economic installations that are unfamiliar with the economic accounting production mechanism and market competition are stagnating. Because of the smuggling and the lack of consideration given to the supply and demand relationship of society, both foreign and domestic goods are stagnating. On Hanoi markets alone, up to 25 billion dong worth of goods are stagnating. This is an unacceptable figure. Naturally, in saying this, we

cannot deny the positive aspect of imported goods, that is, they have relaxed the serious conflict between supply and demand and forced domestic producers to look for ways to improve quality and lower production costs, reduce circulation costs, and create new product designs and features.

Fourth, an excessive number of people are engaged in trading and circulation services. A recent survey conducted at Hanoi markets showed that the number of these people has increased almost 30 percent as compared with the beginning of 1989. There are 500 mass organizations participating in trading in many spheres. This has caused even greater turmoil. Fraud, theft, and other social evils are on the increase.

Fifth, in a situation in which the laws and regulations on commodity circulation (such as requiring businesses to register and pay an income tax to the state) have not been implemented strictly, the management and industrial organizations don't have positive measures to solve the problems.

The reasons for the above problems are:

1. We have not established a commodity fund to "ensure" circulation. The state has not given guidance on this problem. State commerce does not want to have goods stored in the warehouses so that it won't have to pay large sums of interest to the banks. The credit banks don't have favorable interest policies for loans for reserving commodities "to ensure" circulation. Thus, each time the price of strategic goods to support production and daily life suddenly increase, we deal with this in a passive and very ineffective manner. Today, on the social markets, the prices of a number of strategic goods continue to fluctuate wildly.

2. Regulations and patterns on commodity circulation have not been completely synchronized as a legal document, so each area and locality understands their own ways and follows their own rules without knowing what is right or wrong. The administrative organs assigned by the state to administer and implement communications laws are not determined; there are cases where administrative legal cadres take bribes and let dishonest merchants act on their free will.

3. In the process of renovating commodity circulation activities, the commercial sectors in a number of spheres have frequently stressed economic accounting in order to earn high profits, but they have not given enough attention to supporting production and daily life in accord with the goals and requirements of socialist business.

4. Many agencies and mass organizations that do not have trade functions have participated in trading in spite of the statutes on circulation. They have looked for ways to avoid paying taxes and have competed to buy and sell and import and export goods. This has disrupted the markets and created difficulties for the management and control organizations.

II. Measures To Overcome the Above Situation

1. The state must permit the commercial sector to establish a reserve commodity fund to "ensure" circulation, particularly for strategic types of goods that support production and daily life, and it must provide sufficient capital to establish that fund. At the same time, the state must serve as the macroeconomic manager of the fund and make timely use of the fund in order to prevent and solve price problems with respect to strategic types of goods.

In a commodity economy that has a "market-economy-competition" mechanism that has the participation of many economic elements, and that is in the process of moving from a small scale to a large scale, it is difficult to avoid sudden fluctuations in the price of goods when supply cannot keep up with demand. The lessons from the recent price problems with rice, sugar, cement, and nitrate fertilizer clearly show that if the state stores with reserve commodity funds promptly distribute [funds] to the markets, prices can be brought down quickly and stabilized. Experiences have also shown that the use of administrative measures in such circumstances are ineffective.

The state must constantly control the circulation "insurance" reserve commodity fund in commerce and not allow funds to be issued without having such a fund because the money has already been issued for other purposes. Reality shows that some districts have produced thousands of tons of reserve grain, sold it, and deposited the money to make illegal profits. Some provinces have used billions of dong allocated by the state to purchase reserve grain and divided it among the organizations so that they can carry on business activities or deposited the money and squandered the interest. I think that regulations should be promulgated concerning ensuring the reserve commodity funds and using the funds at the correct time and place. This should be an article in the state's circulation law with respect to the commercial sector.

2. The commercial sector (including state commerce and marketing cooperatives) must divide the forces at the rural markets in order to provide support and play a leading and regulatory role and set the direction of market development. In particular, the marketing cooperative forces must be solidified so that they can replace the state stores and serve as marketing agents for most of the marketing needs of the peasants and manual workers in the rural areas. At the same time, local goods must be exploited, business must be expanded, and good support must be given for the production and daily needs of the people. The marketing cooperatives must become "merchants" with the experience and strength to participate on rural markets in order to support production and life and to play a leading role and guide the activities of private merchants and other commercial forces in a socialist orbit.

3. In the renovation process, the activities of socialist commerce must eliminate state subsidies, switch to

economic accounting, and for marketing to market needs. But there must be a thorough understanding of the viewpoint of coordinating business and support activities and not slighting this or that aspect.

Business activities must make a profit, but people must not run after profits by disobeying market rules, avoiding taxes, smuggling goods, increasing prices, and so on. Service is the nature of socialist commerce, but service does not mean state subsidies. The consumers do not demand that socialist commerce lose money in serving them, but they do demand to be served based on honest exchanges and marketing in accord with the requirements of the law of value. Service means that commerce must strive to satisfy the needs of society given the production conditions. It must ensure that the goods are of good quality and that prices are reasonable. It must ensure that things are done in a timely manner and that marketing is convenient and civilized. Economic accounting must be used in order to provide good support. Good support will create the conditions for expanding economic accounting and exploiting the superiority of socialist commerce.

Business activities must be coordinated well with service in the marketing activities of commerce in order to ensure that the socialist commercial forces really become the activists, to guide and regulate the activities of the social markets so that they are carried on in an orderly and civilized manner, and to create a good environment for the expansion of commodity production. At the same time, it must be ensured that the commercial forces participating in the markets as well as the producers and consumers share in the legitimate profits through marketing exchanges.

Recently, in renovating business activities, many corporations and socialist commercial enterprises have focused on accounting in order to earn high profits without fully understanding the service aspect. Thus, many corporations and commercial enterprises have given blank checks to the stores, and the stores have given blank checks to the marketing personnel with the only stipulation being that these personnel must turn over a certain amount of money to the corporation or store each month. But on the crowded sidewalks and streets and at crowded intersections and stations, people set up tents and spread mats and sell all sorts of goods. That spoils the environment and there is no civilized commerce. Such things must be urgently eliminated at the social markets.

I think that regardless of the circumstances, state commerce cannot give blank checks. Giving a blank check is tantamount to "privatizing" state commerce and turning the management apparatus—from corporations to stores—into tax payers and tax collectors contrary to the profession. The quota mechanism in state commerce must be studied to ensure that it is in accord with market realities and to ensure that the state can control the activities of state commerce on social markets. The quotas must be based on the plans and in line with the

accounting method. The quotas must for business activities to support activities. State commerce is the activist force on social markets, and quotas are issued in order to achieve good business results. But the guiding role of state commerce at the social markets cannot be weakened just in order to make high commercial profits. All elements (from market organization, the management mechanism in commerce, and profit viewpoints to the distribution of the network of stores, wholesale and retail stations, service points, and fixed or mobile integrated commercial stations) must be reexamined in order to create an orderly and civilized social market in a multi-faceted commodity economy that is developing in socialist directions.

4. The state must regulate imports and resolutely oppose smuggling.

Today, at a time when the division of labor and commodity production in many spheres has a multi-national character, the import and export of commodities is an objective need for each country. But how much is imported, what types of goods are imported, and when goods are imported are matters that must be considered carefully. This cannot be done in an arbitrary, spontaneous, or anarchic manner. The smuggling of goods into Vietnam in recent years has greatly disrupted the social markets and created many economic and social difficulties for us. In order to overcome this situation, in my view, we must adhere to the following principles on importing goods.

First, with respect to goods that cannot be produced domestically and for which there is a real need, the full amount necessary to satisfy the needs of society can be imported.

Second, with respect to goods that are being produced domestically but for which domestic production cannot fully satisfy the rational needs of society, such goods can be imported to make up the shortfall. However, sales prices must be calculated in such a way that consumers will still want to buy domestic goods.

Third, with respect to goods for which we have the production capabilities to satisfy the needs of society, such goods must not be imported. Prohibiting the import of such goods will stimulate domestic production and cut foreign currency expenditures. If individuals, agencies, or mass organizations smuggle in foreign goods, both economic and administrative measures must be taken against them. That is, the smuggled goods must be confiscated (put into the state budget), and the parties involved must be disciplined.

Fourth, there should not be many centers engaged in importing foreign goods. In our country today, the center can be the Ministry of Commerce.

5. Trading functions and the task of organizing and managing the social market must be concentrated in one center.

The entire circulation element from wholesale and retail sales and services to imports and exports, must be organized and managed uniformly based on objective economic laws and the administrative laws of the state. Resolute steps must be taken to prevent administrative agencies and mass organizations that do not have trading functions from engaging in trade outside the control of the commodity circulation laws. The control of the banks, financial officials, and customs officials must be strengthened with respect to organizations and individuals who engage in trading, with no exceptions. Anyone who violates the laws and regulations on commodity circulation must be prosecuted in accord with the law.

6. The state, with credentials as the macroeconomic administrative and economic manager of society, must soon perfect the "code" on organizing and managing social markets and apply it uniformly nationwide. This "code" must include relatively specific articles and be in accord with a market that has many different economic elements. In my view, this must be a "tool" that the state can use to manage and guide the social market so that its activities are carried on in an orderly and civilized manner within the socialist orbit.

Perfecting the Banking System

91 HANOI Hanoi JAP CHU CONG SAN
in Vietnamese No 9 Sep 90 pp 54-57

[Article by Le Van MA in economics]

[Text] Starting the process of renovating the banking system in accord with the spirit of the resolution of the Sixth Party Congress, at the beginning of 1988, the Council of Ministers promulgated Decree 53 on shifting banking activities to commercial currency activities. This banking system is aimed at taking currency-credit activities out of the old mechanism, putting them into economic accounting in accord with a multi-faceted commodity economy, and reducing monopolization in banking activities. Just as in other spheres, monopolization in banking activities has not only killed internal stimulants that would have encouraged the banks to perfect themselves but also damaged the national economy. If the leadership board of the state bank passes an improper decision concerning currency and credit, this will adversely affect not just a few economic units but the entire national economy. Reforming the banks in accord with Decree 53 means separating the banks' printing and commercial functions. The printing function will continue to be carried out by the state bank. But the commercial function, which was previously the function of the state bank, will now be turned over to the commercial banks. However, this model is just a transitional model. There are new factors but also many old factors. The gradual decline in the level of monopolization of the banks will create the conditions for forming and expanding currency and capital markets. But the explosion of banking activities (credit funds are sprouting up in large numbers) is also a problem that must be examined and dealt with promptly.

During the debates on establishing a banking system based on the guideline of concentrating all banking activities in one or many types of banks, many people have said that we should choose a two-level banking system (a state bank and commercial banks) because this model will enable us to effectively solve the problems in controlling the currency-credit relationships in accord with the plurality and complexity of commodity production and ensure effective macroeconomic management of the economy.

According to this model, the banking system will be designed as follows:

1. The state bank will be the bank that exerts state control over the various types of banks and credit organizations and over currency, credit, and settlement activities in the country. The state bank will have a direct relationship with the various banks and credit organizations concerning currency, credit, and settlement activities through state laws and economic tools (interest rates, discounts, and capital and currency markets). The state market will not make direct loans to economic and social units or individuals but will engage in specialized activities to collect interest through the control tools with respect to the commercial banks, investment and development banks, and credit organizations.

The state bank will not directly manage the other types of banks. The influence of the state bank on the other types of banks will be exerted through economic measures and through collecting interest on the capital provided to them. At the same time, the state bank will coordinate things with the other banks with respect to the most important problems of the currency policies and with respect to credit and interest rate policies. The state bank will coordinate things primarily with the integrated economic sectors in order to implement the control measures, stimulate economic growth at the macrocosmic level, and contribute to hitting the economic and social targets set by the party and state.

2. The commercial banks will operate based on the principles of financial independence and independent economic accounting. They will carry on credit activities (mainly short-term credits) and provide banking services to economic and social organizations and people. Commercial banks can be established under many different forms (state-operated, joint state-private, and private) with a size and professional standards suited to the types of production and commercial activities in the economic spheres of the country. The number will not be limited but will depend on the credit and settlement needs in the economic and social assembly points.

The state-operated commercial banks will receive their initial capital from the state budget and will receive supplements during operations. These banks must fulfill their obligations to the budget just like state enterprises.

Joint state-private and private banks can be established based on voluntary contributions of capital and a division of the profits. The commercial banks must operate

based on the principles of economic accounting and financial independence, and there must be equality in commercial production between the banks and the economic units (customers may choose which bank to use and the banks can choose their customers). The relationship between borrowers and lenders is now completely different from before. In the past, the banks played the role of supervisor, and the enterprises (the borrowers) had to send reports and provide explanations. Now this mechanism has changed. For the first time in the history of the development of the Vietnamese banking system, the banks no longer have a supervisory role. Instead they are the customer or commercial client of the enterprises.

The founders and shareholders are fully responsible for economic and legal matters with respect to the operations of the commercial banks (the share and stock banks are also clients of their customers). They will encourage them to give attention to eliminating the possibility of making loans in excess of the sources of capital (which are called automatic loans and loans that create imaginary deposits) and to give attention to the final results of the loans—improving production results and the credit capabilities of their customers. The principle of self-responsibility means that the leaders of the commercial banks and their colleagues must have high professional capabilities. Besides having studied economics, they must also have experience in banking operations. Unfortunately, for almost 40 years, the banking cadres in our country have gained experience only in state bank operations (because we haven't had any other types of banks except a state bank). Because of this, the way that banking cadres are trained in the colleges and middle schools must be changed. This includes retraining banking cadres using a variety of forms.

Organizing commercial banks using a variety of forms (state-operated and based on stock and shares) is the first step in establishing currency and capital markets, which will lead to competition in banking activities. Because of this, those banks must be equipped with similar capabilities in mobilizing and allotting spare capital. There must be equality with respect to rights and obligations among the economic elements based on the laws of the state. The commercial banks can set interest rates, give mobilized capital and make loans on their own initiative.

The small- and medium-sized commercial banks will be primarily local banks with the ability to deal promptly with the daily problems that arise in the locality (people can make deposits or withdrawals at their local bank). These banks will make an important contribution to stabilizing currency circulation.

No matter how big the commercial banks grow, they cannot suppress or eliminate the credit cooperatives. Eliminating the credit cooperatives means narrowing the commodity-currency relationships and reducing the credit use capabilities of the laborers. The credit cooperatives must be maintained and expanded in accord

with the laws in order to accumulate capital from the people, make loans to cooperative members, and contribute to democratizing banking activities to a greater degree.

Naturally, establishing commercial banks poses many new problems in macroeconomic and territorial credit planning and in settling accounts and allocating loan funds. Credit planning and settlement activities are complex problems that require documents on buyers and sellers and on the amount of money loaned (today, we don't have such information). The specialized banks must coordinate things closely with the commercial production management organizations and with each economic unit, that is, their customers, in order to invest credit effectively and manifest the monetary management and control role of the banks.

1. Investment and development banks are banks that operate in the investment and development sphere. Their main function is to make medium- and long-term loans. The investment and development banks provide banking services to economic and social organizations and people. They contribute to implementing the state's economic structure policies. They are juristic entities that practice economic accounting. They can be state-operated, joint state-private or private banks.

State-operated investment and development banks are provided with funds from the state budget, and they can borrow money from the state budget or take foreign loans in order to invest in development projects at financial interest rates.

Private investment and development banks operate using contributed share capital and mobilized capital. They can borrow money from the state bank or from abroad in accord with the stipulations of the state bank.

The investment and development banks must fulfill their obligations to the state bank and observe the laws and regulations of the state bank.

Vietnam's economy has many favorable factors that should enable it to quickly overcome the immediate difficulties. We will succeed in renovating economic management unless we make mistakes concerning currency policy and the banking system. Formulating a model of a banking system in our country's present conditions is not an easy problem that can be solved quickly. This problem cannot be solved using the intelligence and experience of just one nation or one group of people who are building socialism with very different "starting points" and conditions. Actually, in the bank system model discussed above, there are a number of factors that are somewhat similar to the present banking system in the capitalist countries, because the banking industry always has many more "international" factors than do other industries. Of course, this does not mean that we will abandon socialism in favor of capitalism. Today, there is no banking system that has only strengths and no weaknesses. In order to have a banking system that is suited to the specific conditions of our country, we

have no choice but to make creative use of and constantly perfect the existing model.

'Uncle Ho' Soldiers—Concept and 'Problems'

Q14EDRON: *Hann TAP CHI CONG SAN*
in Vietnamese No 9, Sep 90 pp 58-61

[Article by P.C.]

[Text] For 45 years, the people's regime has deeply engraved the picture of "Uncle Ho soldiers" in the hearts of the Vietnamese people.

Probably no one understands the concept of "Uncle Ho soldiers" better than the people, because it is the people who have lovingly given that name to cadres and soldiers.

On the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the founding of the Vietnam People's Army (22 December 1964), President Ho made a meaningful and brief statement about "Uncle Ho soldiers" that will always be remembered.

"The army is loyal to the party and filial to the people and is ready to fight and make sacrifices for the independence and freedom of the fatherland and for socialism. It can complete any task, overcome any difficulty, and defeat any enemy."

That is praise for our army and a summary of the revolutionary nature and wonderful traditions of the army. It is also the thinking of President Ho on building the Vietnam People's Army.

However, in both the past and today, there have been and are "problems" in understanding the concept of "Uncle Ho soldiers."

1. There was a period when we unintentionally (or perhaps intentionally) cut out an important part of the very meaningful concept of "Uncle Ho soldiers" cited above. The part that was cut out was "ready to fight and make sacrifices for the independence and freedom of the fatherland and for socialism."

How should the entire statement by President Ho on our army—Uncle Ho soldiers—be understood?

At the Tran Quoc Tuan Infantry Base in 1946, President Ho said "Loyal to the country and filial to the people." Thus, for our army, being loyal to the party and loyal to the country are one and the same. You can't say loyal to the party without saying loyal to the country. Conversely, you can't say loyal to the country without saying loyal to the party. Naturally, this does not mean that every patriot must be a member of the communist party. But all party members must be patriots.

This problem is still a very hot issue. In reform and renovation, there has been a tendency to reexamine the leadership role of the communist party with respect to the country in general and the army in particular. Some

people have said that loyalty to the party is an issue for party members only. The army must be loyal only to the country and people. At the same time, some people have wanted to talk only about the leadership of the party and not about the power of the state with respect to the army.

Our party has said that maintaining the principle of party leadership is aimed only at protecting the interests of the working class, people, nation, and fatherland. This is the only purpose. This is not being done to protect the positions of certain party members. This means solving the problems of the nation, fatherland, and people based on the correct viewpoints of the working class. Because in the transitional period to socialism, only the communist party is the legitimate representative of the people. Only the party represents the interests of the people. Denying the leadership of the communist party, curtailing the party's leadership with respect to the army, and "depoliticizing" the army in the name of the nation and people is actually an attempt to put the people and nation into another orbit and, sooner or later, transform the people's army into the army of some other class. We must guard against and resolutely punish the bad elements and powers who oppose the party and system and who have betrayed the fatherland but who, in the name of democracy and renovation, carry the signboard of the people and nation.

On the other hand, the party members and party organizations that have made mistakes and exhibited shortcomings have been legitimately criticized by the masses. And the people have constructively criticized the positions and policies of the state that have not properly reflected the interests of the people and nation. This should not be construed as opposing the party or denying the leadership of the party. To continue leading the nation and to have the people voluntarily accept the party's leadership, the party must renovate itself in the general renovation movement of the country. This has been underway ever since the Sixth Party Congress.

According to the views of President Ho, the party, the people, the fatherland, and socialism are all tied closely to each other. The revolutionary nature of Uncle Ho soldiers is absolute loyalty to the party, the people, the fatherland, and socialism.

Now, those who want to question the relationship between the fatherland and socialism say that in following the path of capitalism like the newly industrialized countries (NIC), there is still independence and development. They don't see the other side of the NIC's. They want to solve the national problem not on the basis of the working class viewpoint or in the interests of the laboring people but on the basis of a bourgeois viewpoint in line with capitalist directions. They say that the army is outside politics and that the army belongs to the nation. That denies the class nature of the army and of the state. Actually, they want the army to stand outside socialist politics, with the army belonging to the nation in a bourgeois sense. They also deny the class nature of the national problem, which actually means that they are

denying the nation based on a proletarian viewpoint and—whether they are aware of this or not—advocating a nation based on a bourgeois viewpoint.

To improve the revolutionary nature and raise the political awareness of Uncle Ho soldiers, the first thing is to recognize and correctly solve the basic problems mentioned above in the socialist revolution and in today's renovation movement. The party, the people, the fatherland, socialism, national independence, and the happiness of the people—these are the revolutionary ideals of the cadres and soldiers and the struggle targets of our army.

2. With respect to the concept of "Uncle Ho soldiers," people often talk about their revolutionary nature, as mentioned above. This is, of course, correct, but it is far from enough. Revolutionary nature is not a goal in itself. It is not something wonderful that is to be admired and respected. Revolutionary nature must be manifested in revolutionary actions, and the revolutionary goals must be reached. Revolutionary actions and the results achieved in historical practices from one year to the next and from one generation to the next have become revolutionary traditions.

Thus, in the "Uncle Ho soldiers" concept as generalized by President Ho, it must be understood that there are two unified aspects:

One is revolutionary nature. "Being loyal to the party, filial to the people, and ready to fight and make sacrifices for the independence and freedom of the fatherland and for socialism."

The other is revolutionary traditions. "Any task can be completed, any difficulty can be overcome, and any enemy can be defeated." In short, that is the tradition of being determined to fight and determined to win, the tradition of being invincible, and the tradition of winning in battle. Naturally, in order to create those general traditions, there are many specific traditions (internal solidarity, army-people solidarity, bearing hardships and overcoming difficulties, and so on).

To generalize, Uncle Ho soldiers must form a revolutionary and victorious army.

What must be done in order to be a victorious army? Certainly, many problems concerning organization, equipment, methods of attack, leadership, and command must be solved. In this, political development must always be the basis.

This is a principle in building a revolutionary army that must never be ignored and that must be applied in a very creative and scientific manner in accord with the cadre and troop targets, the material and technical base of the army, and the domestic and world situation in each period.

The time is past when we can call Uncle Ho soldiers "peasants in uniform" or gentle "defenders" with bamboo helmets, padded waistcoats, rubber sandals,

bags of rice, and rifles. On the paths against America, many of our soldiers were middle school and college students. They were the children of socialist workers, peasants, and intellectuals. Today, our army has additional professors and associate professors, who hold Ph.D. and M.A. degrees, and there are also scholars in the army. We know what the weapons and means of war are like. As for the material and spiritual needs and feelings and intelligence of these targets, although they are still "Uncle Ho soldiers," they are far different from the "defenders" of the past (or perhaps it should be said that the "defenders" of the past were very different from those of today). And all of these targets are very different from each other. In particular, the great changes now taking place in Vietnam, the Soviet Union, the East European countries, and the entire world are having a great effect on their thinking and constantly generating new needs that must be satisfied. There are not just material needs but also intellectual needs. They want to be treated democratically and fairly and to be respected. They want information about the newest changes in the country and throughout the world. If, besides food, our cadres and soldiers are hungry for information, a higher type of food of the mind, they will not be able to develop their capabilities and character in an all-round manner, and because of this it will be difficult to formulate scientific and unshakable political viewpoints and strong and durable political abilities in today's complex situation.

We must examine and solve the problem of building the army in general and building the army politically in particular and tie this to all of society and to all of the organizations and activities of the political system under the leadership of the party.

We realize that the army is a tight and separate organization that is relatively whole. We must manifest a high degree of subjective effort in order to build the army. The army must actively participate in social life. It must participate in the mass movements, implement the policies of the party and state, build the political base and economy, and contribute to opposing negative phenomena in society. The army is a special political army. On the other hand, it is also an element of the social body that has the strengths and weaknesses of society. The strengths and weaknesses of the organizations in the political system will definitely have an effect and leave an impression on the army. Thus, in building the army in general and building the army politically in particular, we cannot rely on others or put the blame on objective conditions. At the same time, it must not be thought that quickly eliminating these negative phenomena is any different in the military. The lessons have shown that if the leadership of the communist party is weak, the state regime is unstable, and the country is in an economic and political crisis, even a strong army will be ineffective.

We are back at an old but still very current principle: Building the army and exploiting the nature and traditions of "Uncle Ho soldiers" is the work of the entire party, all the people, and the entire army under the leadership of the party. Only if there is an "Uncle Ho party" and only if there are "Uncle Ho people" will it be possible to have "Uncle Ho soldiers."

Democratize the Schools

***** Hanoi *TAP CHI CONG SAN* in Vietnamese
No 9, Sep 90 pp 62-68

[Article by Nguyen Duc Minh, not translated]

Pay Attention to Opportunism

UUUUUUUU Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 9, Sep 90 pp 69-71

[Article by Nguyen Phuc An, not translated]

Reply to Readers

UUUUUUUU Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 9, Sep 90 pp 72

[Article not translated]

Searching for the Original Text of the Declaration of Independence Read by President Ho Chi Minh on 2 September 1945

*91JF0005D Hanoi: TAP CHI CONG SAN
in Vietnamese No 9, Sep 90 pp 7, 8-76*

[Article by Nguyen Thanh]

[Text] The 1945 Declaration of Independence is a very important historical document that symbolizes our nation's step into the age of independence, freedom, and socialism.

The American Declaration of Independence, which was written in 1776, was the first Declaration of Independence in history to oppose colonialism and free a colony in the modern period. It was written and proclaimed by representatives of the American bourgeois class.

The Declaration of Independence written by President Ho Chi Minh in 1945 was the first Declaration of Independence to be written by a communist leader on behalf of the nation "once the proletarian class had become the nation."

Many countries in the world that have waged a struggle against imperialism and won national independence have told their people and people throughout the world about their independence and set a National Day. But they do not have a Declaration of Independence with the nature of a historical document.

Our 1945 Declaration of Independence has become a part not only of our nation's history but also of the history of the struggle for independence by oppressed nations around the world and of the history of the world proletarian revolution. It is an immortal document that will shine forever.

The 1945 Declaration of Independence is tied to the renowned Ho Chi Minh, the great leader of our nation and party.

Because this is an important historical document that almost everyone has read or heard and that all general school students have studied, the title "Searching for the Original Text of the Declaration of Independence Read by President Ho Chi Minh on 2 September 1945" may seem very strange. Can it be possible that the text that has been printed in many books and that has been printed and reprinted many times, including in the Selected and Collected Works of Ho Chi Minh, is not the original text?

The answer is, No, it's not.

The American Declaration of Independence has been reprinted countless times in dictionaries and books. And after more than 200 years, not one word or mark has been changed, and the signatures of those responsible before history at the bottom of the Declaration of Independence have been photographed from the original.

What about Vietnam's Declaration of Independence? We have revised it many times. The more revisions we make, the more different it becomes as compared with the original. Thus, restoring the original text of the Declaration of Independence read by President Ho Chi Minh on 2 September 1945 will be of great value in many respects. This will form a reliable basis for historical, political, literary, linguistic, and educational research, for museum exhibits, and for domestic and international propaganda.

I have relied on 14 documents of the party and state organizations responsible and on recorded statements made by President Ho in 1955 in order to make a comparison. Those documents include:

1. A four page booklet with covers published by the government on 3 September 1945.
2. A poster published by the government on 3 September 1945.
3. CUU QUOC, No. 6, 5 September 1945.
4. CO GIAM PHONG, No. 16, 12 September 1945.
5. "Chat Xiong," first printed in 1946 by the Su That Publishing House. This has been reprinted four times.
6. "Stories About the Life and Activities of President Ho" by Tran Dan Tien, Su That, and Van Hoc publishing houses. This has been reprinted many times.
7. "For Independence and Freedom and for Socialism," Su That Publishing House, 1970.
8. "Party Documents, 1939-1945," first printed in 1963 and reprinted in 1977.
9. Ho Chi Minh, "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, 1960.
10. HOC TAP, August 1973.
11. "The Declaration of Independence of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam," introduction by Pham Van Dong, Su That Publishing House, 1975.
12. Ho Chi Minh, "Collected Works," Su That Publishing House, 1980, volume 1.
13. Ho Chi Minh, "Collected Works," Su That Publishing House, 1983, volume 3.
14. Ho Chi Minh, "Collected Works," Su That Publishing House, 1984, volume 4.

In general, there were four periods when the documents were revised, with a total of 22 points.

In 1945, there is one difference between the booklet and the poster, perhaps because the poster did not print the entire text. But in CUU QUOC, there are four points that differ from the booklet. And in CO GIAM PHONG,

there are three points that differ from the booklet and four points that differ from CUU QUOC out of a total of 22 points.

The "Selected Works of Ho Chi Minh" published in 1960 contain the most revisions: 12 out of 22 points.

One word in "Party Documents, 1939-1945" published in 1963 is different from the "Selected Works of Ho Chi Minh" published in 1960.

Three words in the August 1973 issue of HOC TAP differ from the "Selected Works of Ho Chi Minh" published in 1960.

With 10 differences like this, because we don't have the original document read by President Ho, it is very difficult to determine what the original text is. But an analysis based on the various documents has shown that the booklet published on 3 September 1945 is the root document. Why? Two documents were published on 3 September 1945, the booklet and the poster. These two documents differ on only one point. In the second section, the sentence in the booklet reads, "Broad-minded thinking means that all the people in the world were born equal. All people have the right to live, be happy, and be free." But in the poster, six words are missing. It says "right to live, be happy, and." The other texts that were published shortly after the Declaration of Independence was written (the texts in CUU QUOC and CO GIAI PHONG) and the French translation for broadcast by the Vietnam News Agency from Bach Mai on 15 September 1945) are complete texts just like the booklet. Even though the various texts printed later differ in various places, they are all complete texts like the booklet.

The CPV [Communist Party of Vietnam] Central Committee and state should issue a decision on the official use of one Declaration of Independence that should not vary from one printing to the next. Whenever it is translated into a foreign language, that text must be used as the basis. People should not be free to use whatever text they want, which has been the case for many years.

The following is the original text of the Declaration of Independence as printed in the booklet published on 3 September 1945. To alert readers about where this differs from later texts, I have compared this text with the text published in Volume 4 of the "Collected Works of Ho Chi Minh" published by the Su That Publishing House in 1964 and placed those passages in parentheses.

(Fellow Citizens Everywhere)

"All people are born (with) equal (rights). They are endowed by the creator with inalienable rights, among which are the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

These immortal words are contained in the 1776 Declaration of Independence of the United States. In broad

terms, that sentence means that all peoples in the world are born equal and that every people has the right to live, be happy, and be free.

The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen issued during the French revolution in 1791 states:

"People are born free and equal, and they must always enjoy freedom and equality of rights."

Those are truths that no one can deny.

But for more than 80 years, the French colonialists used the banner of freedom, equality, and fraternity to steal our country from us and oppress our people. Their actions were totally contrary to humanity and justice.

Politically, they did not give our people any democratic freedoms.

They promulgated uncivilized laws. They established three different systems in the central region, south, and north in order to block the unification of our country and prevent our people (nation) from uniting.

They built many more prisons than schools. They beheaded our patriots and put down our rebellions in a sea of blood.

They stifled public opinion and implemented foolish policies.

They used opium and liquor to weaken our race.

Economically, they exploited our people to the bone, causing poverty and hardships for our people and ruining our country.

They robbed us of our land, forests and mines (mines) and raw materials.

They had a monopoly on printing money and monopolized imports and exports.

They imposed hundreds of irrational taxes, which impoverished our people, particularly the farmers and merchants.

They prevented our bourgeoisie from becoming wealthy (advancing). They ruthlessly exploited our workers.

In the fall of 1940, the Japanese fascists invaded Indochina in order to establish more bases from which to attack the Allies. The French colonialists abjectly surrendered and opened our country to the Japanese. Our people then had to wear the bonds of both the French and the Japanese. Our people suffered even greater hardships and greater poverty. The result was that at the end of 1940 and the beginning of 1941, from Quang Tri to Bac Ky, more than 2 million people died of starvation.

On 9 March this year, the Japanese disarmed the French army. The French colonialists had to flee or surrender. Not only have they failed to "defend" us, but during these five years, they have also sold our country twice to the Japanese.

Prior to 9 March, the Viet Minh appealed countless times to the French to join forces to resist the Japanese. But the French colonialists did not answer and began terrorizing the Viet Minh even more. Even after they lost, they cruelly killed many political prisoners at Yen Bay (Bai) and Cao Bang.

However, our people still have a tolerant and humanitarian attitude toward the French. After the change on 9 March, the Vietnam Minh helped many Frenchmen escape across the border, rescued (many) Frenchmen from Japanese prisons, and protected their lives and property.

The truth (fact) is, since the autumn of 1940, our country has been a colony of Japan and not of France. When Japan surrendered to the Allies, people throughout our country rose up to reserve (seize) power¹ and established the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (Vietnam Democratic Republic).

The truth (fact) is, our people have recovered Vietnam from the Japanese and not from the French.

The French have fled, the Japanese have surrendered, and Emperor Bao Dai has abdicated. Our people have broken the bonds of almost 100 years of colonialism in order to create (build) an independent Vietnam. Vietnam is independent. Our people have toppled the old monarchy and established a democratic republic.

Thus, on behalf of all the people of Vietnam, we—the provisional government of the new Vietnam—proclaim ourselves completely free of any colonial relationship with France and hereby abolish all treaties signed by France with respect to Vietnam and all of France's special rights in Vietnam.

The entire Vietnamese people will fiercely (resolutely) oppose the plots of the French colonialists.

We feel that the Allies, who recognized the principle of national equality at the Tehran and San Francisco conferences, must recognize the independence of the Vietnamese people.

A people who have bravely resisted the yoke of French slavery for more than 80 years and who have bravely stood on the side of the Allies in resisting the fascists these past years must be allowed to be free! That people must be independent!

For the reasons given above, the provisional government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam solemnly declares to the world:

"Vietnam has the right (to be) free and independent, and the truth (fact) is, a free and independent country has already been established. All the people of Vietnam are resolved to use their spirit, power, lives, and property to preserve this freedom and independence."

Ho Chi Minh (President), Tran Huy Lieu, Vo Nguyen Giap, Chu Van Tan, Duong Duc Hien, Nguyen Van To, Nguyen Manh Ha, Cu Huy Can, Pham Ngoc Thach, Pham Van Dong, Dao Trong Kim, Vu Dinh Hoe, and Le Van Hien. (This part is not in the "Collected Works.")

Restoring the original text of the Declaration of Independence read by President Ho Chi Minh on 2 September 1945 is a scientific problem, a historical necessity, and, at the same time, a politically significant problem that must be examined carefully.

Footnote

1. The poster says "seize power" (gianh, not danh), but the booklet says "reserve power." In my view, "seize" is more correct. But in order to respect the historical document, we have retained the original word "reserve."

Social and Class Structure Under Modern Capitalism

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 9, Sep 90 pp 77-81

[Article by Tuan Loan; not translated]

Five Decades and Three Strategies Against the World Revolution

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 9, Sep 90 pp 82-86

[Article by Phan Lang; not translated]

**Exploitation of Latin America by the Imperialist
Countries**

00000000 *Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese*
No 9, Sep 90 pp 87-88

[Article not translated]

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DATE FILMED

25 April 1991